

To the


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Al Pueblo Americano.

Dios sabe cuan injusta es la guerra que contra nuestro infortunado país han provocado y sostienen las armas imperialistas ! Si los honrados patriotas americanos pudieran comprender en toda su triste exactitud la verdad de esta afirmacion, por seguro tenemos que, sin pérdida de momento, harian cesar lucha tan incalificable. A este propósito les requerimos : oigan nuestra voz, mediten sobre nuestras exhortaciones, pésenlas y médanlas en parangon con las falacias de qué el Imperialismo usa para disfrazar sus designios y, luego, resuelvan conforme á dictados de razon y conciencia.

Somos los filipinos un pueblo culto, progresivo y amante de la paz ; dan testimonio de lo primero cuantos, con imparcial espíritu de observacion, hablan y escribieron sobre nuestro estado de aventajada cultura, acerca de nuestra capacidad para lograr todos los adelantos, de los dos siglos de bien recibida educacion literaria que llevamos, del escaso número de inalfabetos que hay entre los habitantes de las Islas, de los hombres de ciencia, artistas, magistrados, militares y altos dig-

To the American People.

GOD ALMIGHTY knows how unjust is the war which the Imperial arms have provoked and are maintaining against our unfortunate country ! If the honest American patriots could understand the sad truth of this declaration, we are sure they would, without the least delay, stop this unspeakable horror. And, that they may have a just understanding of it, we entreat them to hear our voice, to meditate on our exhortations and to weigh our statements against the misrepresentations under which Imperialism seeks to conceal its designs. Turn not away from our prayer, Americans, but listen, and give judgment according to reason and conscience.

We, the Filipinos, are a civilized, progressive and peace-loving people. Many impartial writers and speakers have testified that we are advanced in civilization, that we are capable of improvement, that many of our people for two centuries have enjoyed the advantages of university education, that the number of illiterates among our people is small, and that as artists, scientists, magistrates, generals and

natarios de la Iglesia, hijos de Filipinas, que en Europa, especialmente en España, fueron reconocidos en su justo valer alcanzando prominentes posiciones, láuros académicos, honores de todo género. Que somos progresivos, bien lo demostró la conducta del país filipino cuando, reciente la capitulación de Manila y gozando los pobladores de aquel suelo, con indudable asentimiento del Gobierno de los EE. UU., de un principio de independencia, lejos de dejarse poseer de la fiebre revolucionaria y de entregarse á excesos y demasías, con una sensatez de qué hallareis escasos ejemplos en la Historia, constituyóse un prudente gobierno que respetó los derechos legítimamente creados, se convocó un Congreso cuya labor legislativa por nadie ha sido justamente criticada, se reorganizaron los mecanismos administrativos todos, perturbados por la reciente lucha, funcionaron regularmente los correos, telegrafos y ferro-carriles, se estableció el alumbrado eléctrico en algunas poblaciones, se crearon una nueva Universidad, cuatro institutos de segunda enseñanza y numerosas escuelas primarias y entró, en suma, la nueva nacionalidad en un camino de ordenada evolución que prometía muy risueño porvenir... Todo esto es lo que pueden vanagloriarse de haber conturbado los cañones imperialistas !

De nuestro amor á la paz, qué mejor

dignitaries of the Church, the sons of the Filipines, have distinguished themselves greatly and have achieved many positions of eminence, especially so in Spain. That we are progressive, was well shown by the conduct of our whole country when, at the time of the capitulation of the city of Manila, the inhabitants of our islands, supposing themselves to have entered upon a career of national independence that was to be assured to them by the United States Government, instead of abandoning themselves to any revolutionary fever and excess, established with careful thought and scrupulous regard for justice a prudent government which respected all rights created legitimately ; they convoked a Congress whose legislative work has not been justly criticised by anybody ; they re-organized the administrative machinery which had been disturbed by recent struggles : telegraphs, railroads and means of communication began to work regularly ; we had adopted the electric light in some of our towns ; and we had established a new university, four high and several primary schools. In brief, the new nation had entered upon a path of progress which already promised a bright future. All this progress the Imperialists have disturbed ; all this progress have they destroyed.

For proof that we love peace, we ask you to remember the story of our rela-

prueba podemos dar que la historia de nuestras relaciones con España? Durante tres siglos nuestro pueblo estuvo á merced de la dominacion española: fuimos súbditos de su Monarquía. Los gobiernos de dicha nacion se negaron siempre á oírnos para legislar en la forma mejor avenida con nuestros intereses: negáronnos la representacion en Cortes y se dejaron inspirar solo de los elementos más reaccionarios, los frailes principalmente, interesadísimos en mantener á Filipinas alejado de la Madre Patria y de los beneficios de la libertad para más á su sabor explotarlo. Nos negaron la libertad de imprenta, restringieron el derecho de asociacion y atentaron á la inviolabilidad del domicilio: crearon los llamados expedientes gubernativos mediante los cuales, sin forma de juicio y sin que se oyeran sus exculpaciones, solíase arrebatár del hogar y sumir en las tristezas del destierro al más pacífico ciudadano. En conclusion, podemos asegurar que los mal aconsejados gobiernos españoles, á quienes ahora plagia y aún supera en tiránicos alardes el Imperialismo de vuestros gobernantes, nos negaron muchas de las libertades de que gozabais ya vosotros cuando os alzasteis, quejosos de opresion, contra la soberania de la Gran Bretaña.

Y á pesar de tanto mal sufríamolos resignados, reduciéndose nuestra pro-

tions with Spain. For three hundred years our country has been at the mercy of Spanish domination; we were the subjects of that monarchy; the government of that nation denied us any voice in the enactment of remedial legislation: they denied us representation in the Spanish Cortes. They allowed themselves to be directed by the most reactionary elements, and took counsel chiefly from the friars who sought to estrange the mother country from us and to deny us the blessings of liberty, so that they might the more completely exploit us at their will. They denied us freedom of the press, restricted the right of peaceable assembly and violated the security of our homes. They created the so called administrative process (expedientes gubernativos); so that, often, without hearing and without trial the most peaceable citizen was snatched from his house and condemned to the miseries of banishment. In brief, the Spanish government, whose despotic cruelty American Imperialism now imitates, and in some respects surpasses, denied to us many of the liberties which you were already enjoying when, under pretext of oppression, you revolted against British domination.

Notwithstanding these great wrongs we submitted quietly, confining our protests to earnest prayers for reparation; such was our love of peace. Only

testa al ruego de la reparacion, á la súplica encarecida, tal era nuestro amor á la paz ; y solo cuando nos convencimos de que nuestros requerimientos eran en absoluto desairados ; de que eran depuestos los mejores gobernantes, aunque de prestigiosos funcionarios se tratára, apenas mostraban simpatia hácia nosotros ; cuando perdimos toda esperanza de solucion pacífica, toda fe en el advenimiento de las tantas veces anunciadas reformas liberales, surgió la protesta armada, la Revolucion Filipina, la más justificada de las revoluciones. Fué un alzamiento sin odios ni rencores, no contra España, á la qué respetábamos y queríamos, sinó contra sus malos gobiernos, de la propia suerte que hoy luchamos, no contra América, cuya grandeza y cuyo poderio reconocemos y en cuya justicia aún esperamos, sinó contra sus indignos gobernantes. Os mienten, si, miserablemente os engañan en ésta como en otras calumnias por los imperialistas discurridas, los que os dicen que somos un pueblo aventurero, levantisco, dado á guerrear al menor pretexto ; si contra España lucháramos un día y hoy hacemos resistencia á vuestras poderosas armas, aún en la certeza de ser vencidos, es porque á la lid, desigual y sangrienta, hemos sido precipitados, como último y supremo recurso para alcanzar la posesion de legítimas ambiciones.

Asi que podemos repetir, alta la frente

when we became convinced that our requests were absolutely disregarded, that the most worthy officials were removed from office, even those of eminent character, when it was made known that they had manifested even a slight sympathy for us, when we had lost every hope of peaceful remedy and all faith in the oft promised liberal reforms, only then it was that the armed protest, the Philippine revolution, the most justifiable of all revolutions, began. It was an uprising void of every feeling of hatred and revenge toward Spain, the country that we respected and loved ; it was a revolt against her bad government, just as we now revolt, not against America, whose power and greatness we recognize, and whose justice we still hope to see proven, but against her unworthy rulers. Those who tell you that we are an adventurous and seditious people, ready to go to war at the least pretext, basely deceive you in this as in many other calumnies invented by the Imperialists. If, yesterday, we fought against Spain, and, to-day, are resisting your powerful arms, even though sure to be vanquished, it is because we have been forced as a last resort to an unequal and bloody war for the attainment of an aspiring people's legitimate ambitions. Thus we can repeat proudly and with the firmness of one who carries the truth on his lips and in his heart, that if our

y con la firmeza del que lleva la verdad en los labios y en el corazon, que si por nuestras condiciones de cultura y carácter somos dignos de la independencia, más aún venimos á serlo por los altos móviles que inspiraron siempre nuestros actos de rebeldia. Porque, entonces, americanos, nos negais la libertad? Porque, olvidando toda vuestra historia y las nobles enseñanzas de vuestros antepasados, combatís la causa del progreso y de la justicia, que es la nuestra? Que medió entre vosotros y nosotros para que tan increíble monstruosidad ocurra?

Un dia declarasteis la guerra á España, manifestando á la faz del Mundo que apelabais á las armas solo á título de libertadores de pueblos oprimidos; y entonces vuestra bandera, como símbolo de libertad, ondeó ante las costas de Filipinas sobre potentes acorazados para los cuales fué un juego de niños destruir la debil escuadra adversa. Entonces fué cuando vuestros representantes diplomáticos invitaron al más prestigioso de los caudillos filipinos, al honorable Sr. Aguinaldo, á una alianza ofensiva contra el que presentaban como enemigo comun, á fin de que, vencién-dole, lográramos nuestras constantes aspiraciones de libertad política; entonces fué cuando vuestro ídolo el almirante Dewey y vuestros celebrados generales Merritt y Anderson, como amigos y aliados nos tra-

character and culture entitle us to independence, still more do we show ourselves entitled to it by the high motives which have always inspired our resistance. Why, then, do you deny us liberty? Why, forgetful of all your history and the noble precepts of your illustrious forefathers, are you fighting against the cause of Independence, of Progress and of Justice, which is our cause? What has come to pass between you and us that should cause you to permit this incredible and monstrous war to be waged against us?

When you declared war against Spain you proclaimed to the world at large that you had appealed to arms only in order to free oppressed peoples; and when your flag waved before the coasts of the Filipines on powerful vessels which easily destroyed the weak fleet of the enemy, it was an emblem of liberty then. Your diplomatic representatives invited the most famous of our Filipino leaders, Hon. E. Aguinaldo, to an offensive alliance against those whom you represented to us as a "common enemy," in order that by vanquishing them, we might achieve our aspirations for peace and happiness. It was then that your idol, Admiral Dewey, and your distinguished generals, Merritt and Anderson, treated us as friends and allies, saying sincerely that we were fit for independence, even more so, as the admiral asserted, than

taron, diciendo sin rebozo que éramos aptos para la independencia, aún más que los cubanos á quienes en justicia habeis prometido darla, segun el primero de los citados prohombres afirmó; entonces fué cuando la honrada bandera de la joven nacion filipina ondeó á la sombra del pabellon estrellado en la bahía de Manila; entonces fué cuando en Cavite, al alcance de vuestros cañones y sin oposicion alguna, se proclamó la independencia de Filipinas, casi con las mismas palabras que se consignan en vuestra inmortal Declaracion; entonces fué cuando vuestros soldados, á la vez que los nuestros aclamaban á la libertadora América, victorearon á la nueva nacion oceánica; entonces fué cuando, por servir vuestra causa, ya que jurábais era la de la libertad de su patria, derramaron los filipinos sangre á torrentes combatiendo á un enemigo valeroso y obstinado, á la vez que os prestaban auxilios de toda clase; entonces . . . hasta á punto estuvisteis de romper las hostilidades con otra nacion que mostró simpatias hácia los reveses de España y que, en Subig, quiso obstaculizar la accion del que vosotros mismos denominabais “ejército libertador.” Entonces era el tiempo de la ficcion hermosa; hoy parece haber llegado la hora de la amarga realidad, del cruel desencanto: entonces fuimos recibidos y tratados como aliados, y ahora se nos rechaza á

the Cubans to whom you have with equity promised to give it. It was then that the flag of the new Philippine nation waved in the shadow of the Stars and Stripes at Manila Bay. It was then that the independence of the Philippines was proclaimed at Cavite, within range of your cannons, without any opposition, and in almost the very words of your immortal Declaration. It was then that your soldiers hailed the new nation, while ours were cheering the American liberators. It was then, to save your cause, since you had assured us that your cause embraced our freedom, that the Filipinos gave their blood for you in your fight against a valiant and obstinate enemy, and at the same time placed in your reach all available resources and aid. You were at that moment almost at the point of breaking into hostilities with another nation which had manifested her sympathy for Spain by attempting to bar at Subig Bay the course of what you yourselves had called “an army of liberation.” That was the hour of the beautiful fiction: now we seem to have come to the time of the bitter reality, the cruel disenchantment. Then we were received and treated as allies; now we are scourged back into the mountains and denied every right except that of fighting the very flag in whose beneficent shadow we had expected to find freedom and happiness.

las montañas, negándonosnos todo derecho, como no sea el de luchar contra la misma bandera á cuya sombra benéfica esperábamos hallar la libertad y la dicha.

Desde un principio nuestro pueblo se unió á los EE. UU. en la guerra contra España y avanzó orgulloso al lado de vuestros hijos, á los qué tuvo por compañeros de armas, por soldados de una misma causa, hácia la victoria. En todo tiempo, mientras duró la lucha aquella y durante algunos meses después, las autoridades de los EE. UU. nos hicieron esperar la independencia: bajo la protección de ellas se publicaron en Manila periódicos y folletos que este ideal defendían; con su venia el Ejército Revolucionario fué conquistando las posiciones españolas y estableciendo en ellas gobiernos provinciales dependientes del de la República Filipina. Entonces era America una gran nacion redimiendo á filipinos y cubanos de la férrea mano de un gobierno imperial, solo para darles la libertad, para emanciparles: nuestro país saludó las estrellas y franjas de vuestra bandera como un emblema de libertad, como una garantía de redencion para todo ser humano, como una divisa de honor para los patriotas muertos en la lid; y así, con renovada energía, con espléndido ardor, con determinacion inquebrantable, marcharon los soldados

From the outset our country took sides with the United States in the war with Spain, and we marched proudly with your sons as comrades in arms, as soldiers in the same cause, to victory. At all times during that war, and for months afterward, the civil, military and naval authorities of the United States caused us to hope for Independence. Papers and pamphlets advocating this ideal were published in Manila under the protection of the United States authorities: with their consent the revolutionary army had been conquering the Spanish positions and establishing in them provincial governments dependent on that of the Philippine Republic. America was then a great republic, releasing the Cubans and the Filipinos from the iron grasp of an imperial government and conducting them to emancipation and freedom; and our people hailed the Stars and Stripes as an emblem of freedom, as the token of liberty for the living and the badge of honor for the patriots dead. With renewed energy, with proud alacrity, with fearless determination they pressed on, side by side with your noble sons, to the end. What reward did we get? Did the expected freedom come to us? No! As a requital for our sacrifices and as a reward for our loyalty, subjugation is offered to us instead of freedom. We may have a colonial government of the

filipinos al par que los nobles hijos de América hasta el fin de la jornada. Cual ha sido la recompensa obtenida? Ha venido á nosotros la libertad que esperabámos? No; como premio á nuestros sacrificios, como recompensa á nuestra adhesión, se nos ofrece la esclavitud en vez de la libertad: tendremos un GOBIERNO COLONIAL DE LOS EE. UU., administrado en un idioma extraño, en vez del gobierno colonial de España que, al fin, era administrado en una lengua ya conocida y que habíamos hecho nuestra... tendremos un gobierno colonial que nos negará la ciudadanía de su nación, cosa que, pese á sus tendencias reaccionarias, jamás llegaron á negarnos los gobiernos españoles!

Cuando, en día de triste memoria, nos negamos á aceptar esta indignidad, cuando protestamos contra tan inicua ingratitud, los cañones de los EE. UU. se volvieron y dispararon contra nosotros como traidores y rebeldes, matando millares de combatientes, vuestros aliados de la víspera, despedazando ancianos, mugeres y niños, padres, esposas é hijos de vuestros amigos y favorecedores, arrasando nuestros hogares, donde como huéspedes de honor os acogiéramos y regando de sangre y sembrando de ruinas el hermoso suelo de nuestra desventurada Patria. Ved, pues, americanos, y considerad, no solo cual

United States, administered in a foreign language, instead of the colonial government of Spain, which, at least, was administered in a language already known to us and which we have made ours. We are to have a colonial government which will deny us the citizenship of its nation. In spite of their imperialistic tendencies, the Spanish government never went so far as to deny us citizenship!

When, on a day of sad recollections, we declined to accept this shame, when we protested against this iniquitous ingratitude, then the guns of the United States were turned upon us; we were denounced as traitors and rebels; you destroyed the homes to which you had been welcomed as honored guests, killing thousands of those who had been your allies, mutilating our old men, our women and our children, and watering with blood and strewing with ruins the beautiful soil of our Fatherland. Behold, therefore, Americans, and consider not only our right to independence but what your conduct has been, and what your plain duty is towards us in good faith, and then judge, in view of these antecedents, whether the crusade of extermination which the Imperialists have inaugurated against our unfortunate country is a worthy one, whether it is just, and whether it is in the least degree excusable.

es nuestro derecho á la independencia, sinó tambien cual ha sido vuestra conducta y cual es vuestro ineludible deber para con nosotros, y sentenciad, en vista de estos antecedentes, si es justa, si es digna, si es de alguna manera disculpable la cruzada de exterminio que las armas imperialistas han emprendido contra el más desgraciado de los paises.

Estos y solo estos son los verdaderos términos del problema planteado: no oigais los falaces argumentos de los qué, para disculpar sus yerros políticos y sus codicias coloniales, os dicen lo contrario en aserciones cuya falsedad puede solo equipararse á la mala fe que las inspira. Os dicen que somos incapaces del gobierno propio, como si los hechos consumados no demostráran lo contrario y como si no hubiesen otra cosa afirmado, unánimes, todos los americanos que nos juzgáran serenamente con anterioridad á esta guerra de conquista; os aseguran que entre nosotros existen profundas divisiones y que á la retirada de las fuerzas americanas se producirán la anarquía y el desgobierno en nuestro país, como si no fuera notorio que reinaba el orden más completo allí antes de que las tropas imperialistas introdujeran, con su injusta agresion, el desorden; os cuentan que el Gobierno de la República Filipina jamás fué por todo el pais reconocido, falsedad mani-

These and only these are the true terms of the simple problem. Do not give ear to the specious arguments of those who, in order to excuse a political crime and in order to disguise their greed and covetousness, tell you the contrary by means of assertions whose falseness is as great as the bad faith of their authors. They tell you that we are incapable of self-government, as if the accomplished facts had not proven the contrary; and as if, also, all the Americans who had calmly judged us, previous to this war of conquest, had not unanimously asserted otherwise. They assure you that there exist deep divisions among us and that the withdrawal of the American troops would create anarchy and misgovernment in our country, as if it were not evident that the most complete order prevailed there until the Imperial troops had, with their unjust war, brought confusion. They tell you that the government of the Philippine Republic had never been recognized by the whole country. This is a manifest falsehood, because it had been recognized even by the Mohammedans in the South, whom the Imperialists, their friends and allies, boast so much of having reduced to submission; and by the mountain races of Luzon, who always refused to recognize the Spanish Government and who will do the same to the American Government. The

fiesta, pues lo fué hasta por los mahometanos del Sur, de cuya sumision tanto se envanecen sus amigos y afines los imperialistas, y por las razas monteses de Luzon, que siempre se resistieron á reconocer el Gobierno español y se resistirán al Americano, siendo el único apto para atraerlas á la vida civilizada, por la confianza que les inspira, el Gobierno Filipino, éxito civilizador que el Imperialismo estorba; afirman que la existencia de esas razas monteses viene á hacer imposible la independencia filipina, absurdo que equivaldria á sostener que sois vosotros incapaces de gobierno propio ya que en vuestro suelo habitan tribus indias y en proporcion tan crecida, ciertamente, como la entre nosotros representada por igorotes, aetas, etc.; insinúan la estupenda idea de que por hablar diversos dialectos los tagalogs, visayas, ilocanos, etc., no es factible que constituyamos unidad nacional, objecion de crasa ignorancia que olvida que en las más cultas naciones europeas se hablan tambien distintos dialectos, y aún idiomas diferentes, como en la cultísima Suiza; objecion sofistica, tambien, que olvida de propósito que en todas las provincias del Archipiélago, tagalas, visayas, ilocanas, etc., cuyos pobladores son, en puridad, de una misma condicion étnica y de igual cultura, se habla un solo idioma oficial, el castellano; alegan que la

Filipine Government is the only one which can conciliate and redeem them, for in that government only have they confidence—a success for civilization which Imperialism could never accomplish. They assert that the existence of these mountain races makes the Philippine Independence impossible. This is an absurd assertion, which would be equal to maintaining that you are incapable of self-government simply because there are Indians on your soil in a proportion almost equal to that which the Igorrotes, Aetas, etc., represent among us. They mislead you with the idea that because the Tagalogs, the Visayos, the Ilocanos, etc., speak different dialects, it is not feasible for us to constitute a national unity. This is an objection of gross ignorance which forgets that in the most civilized European nations people speak different dialects and even different languages, as in the highly civilized Switzerland; it is also a sophistical objection which overlooks the fact that in all the provinces of the Archipelago, in the Tagal, the Visayan, and the Ilocos provinces, etc., whose inhabitants are of the same ethnical condition and culture, the only language officially spoken is the Spanish. They allege that the majority of the Filipinos are in favor of the American sovereignty, and that they would rather be colonials of America than be independent. This

mayoria de los filipinos son partidarios de la dominacion americana, que prefieren ser colonos de América á ser independientes, burda falsedad que desmiente el hecho de los millares de soldados que allí han tenido que situar los imperialistas y el régimen de tirania militar de qué necesitan valerse, tan opresor como jamás lo conocimos antes, aprisionando gentes pacíficas, suspendiendo serios periódicos y otro sin fin de abusos contra todo fuero, para ahogar los clamores por la independencia; tambien os dicen que la agresion en la actual guerra partió de nosotros, como si no constára cuanto hicimos por evitar la ruptura de hostilidades con qué á diario se nos provocaba y cuantas veces propusimos una cesacion en la lucha para llegar á un acuerdo, peticion á que siempre se han negado vuestros gobernantes; añaden que nuestro país tiene grandes é inexploradas riquezas y que con él se lucrará mucho América, engaño patente, pues tales tesoros, los mineros inclusive, han sido ya cuidadosamente explotados por españoles, alemanes é ingleses, y nunca obtuvieron los éxitos portentosos con qué sueña ahora el Imperialismo, antes por el contrario, más quiebras se registran en la historia de esas explotaciones que prósperos sucesos; que allí hay, añaden, tierras fértiles que repartir y cultivar, y á esto contestarán los inmi-

is a base falsehood, which belies the fact of the thousands of soldiers which the Imperialists have had to put on the islands, and of the régime of military tyranny, more terrible than was ever known before by us, of which they were compelled to avail themselves, imprisoning thousands of honest people, suppressing serious newspapers, and other endless abuses against all law, in order to smother the cries for independence. They also tell you that we were the aggressors in the present war, as if it were not evident how much we have done in order to prevent the outbreak of hostilities with which we were daily provoked, and how many times we proposed a cessation in the fight in order that we may come to an agreement, a demand which your rulers have always refused to grant us. They further tell you that our country has great and unexploited riches and that with it America would gain. This is a new deception of Imperialism, because such treasures, even the mines, have already been carefully exploited by Spaniards, Germans, and English, and they never obtained the marvellous success of which Imperialism now dreams; on the contrary, the record of these exploitations shows more failure than success. They go on to say that there are in our country rich lands to distribute and cultivate. To this the deceived American immigrants who,

grantes americanos que, creyendo promesas tales vayan á sucumbir á los rigores de aquel clima, fatal á su raza, renegando de quienes les indugeron á abandonar su más rico y salutífero suelo ; que el cristianismo y sus intereses ultraterrenos aconsejan la retención de las Islas, es otro error, porque si nuestra subyugación se realiza, jamás podremos olvidar cuanta parte tomó en ella el fanatismo religioso, y nuestras actuales convicciones cristianas vacilarán, trocándose quizás en aversión á las creencias de nuestros esclavizadores ; dicen, finalmente, los imperialistas que Dios puso en sus manos reglar los futuros destinos de Filipinas, como si el Supremo Espíritu pudiera haber encarnado en el oro de los veinte millones de dollars que se dieron á España y en el acero de los cañones de tiro rápido que matan y hieren á los heroicos defensores de la independencia de su patria !

No oigais, no, las mentidas aseveraciones de los imperialistas : escuchad solo la voz de la razon y de la justicia. No atendaís á las sugerencias de los que pretenden excitar vuestro amor propio nacional y vuestras más íntimas pasiones, para que os convirtais en dóciles instrumentos de sus concupiscencias y ambiciones, inmoralidades y escándalos propios de toda administración colonial, deshonra ya del hasta hoy inmaculado nombre americano y

believing such promises, shall go and succumb to the rigours of the climate, so fatal to their race, will answer accusing those who made them leave their rich and habitable land. That the higher interests of Christianity demand the retention of the Islands, is another deception, because if our subjugation becomes a reality, we could never forget how much religious fanaticisms have had to do with it, and our present Christian belief would stagger and perhaps we would look with distrust on the creeds of our subjugators. Finally, the Imperialists say that God trusted in their hands the government of the future destinies of the Filipines, as if the Supreme Spirit could have been incarnated in the gold of the twenty millions of dollars which were paid to Spain, and in the steel of the quick-firing guns which are mutilating the unfortunate Filipinos.

No, do not listen to the false assertions of the Imperialists, listen only to the voice of reason and justice. Heed not the suggestions of those who pretend to excite your national self-love and your innermost feelings, in order that you may convert yourselves into docile instruments of their cupidity and ambition, of their immoralities and scandals which are peculiar to every colonial administration, and which have already dishonored the until now immaculate name of America

de su hasta hoy honrada política exterior : no os dejeis engañar por falsas imputaciones ni alucinar por ficticias promesas ; fallad, tambien, sin que la hipocresia ni el fingimiento encubran vuestro láudo. De una parte, vuestro propio honor y vuestras gloriosas tradiciones, os imponen el deber de darnos la ofrecida y bien ganada independencia ; de la otra, engañosísimas noticias sobre las riquezas de nuestro sue'lo, la codiciada posesion colonial que constituye, la sórdida y ciega avaricia, que es la sola musa del Imperialismo, os inducen á continuar la repugnante lucha que por subyugarnos, y sin vuestro consentimiento, han emprendido vuestros gobernantes : escoged, pues, hijos de Washington, de Jefferson y de Lincoln, entre estas dos soluciones : escoged, entre la libertad para un pueblo honrado que bajo vuestra égida se colocó y la mayor libertad para vosotros, con qué Dios recompensará vuestra accion, ó la tirania para vuestras infortunadas víctimas, con el consiguiente castigo del derrumbamiento de vuestras propias libertades ; la generosidad redentora, fecunda en bendiciones para todos, ó la codicia colonial, germen de immoralidades y tiranías ; la virtud ó la maldad. Fallad en conciencia y estamos seguros de que os inclinareis al bien, á la única solucion honrada, que será la que retorne la paz á nues-

and her foreign policy. Do not be deceived by false charges, nor allured by false promises. Give judgment without hypocrisy and without self-deception. On the one hand your honor and your glorious traditions are calling upon you to accord to us our rightful and well-earned independence. On the other hand the distorted dreams of avarice, the dark conspiracies of greed and remorseless ambition, nurses of Imperialism throughout all time, these counsel you to uphold the war of subjugation which your rulers, but not your people, have authorized and forced upon us. Choose, then, sons of Washington, of Jefferson and of Lincoln, between these two alternatives : Freedom for the hapless peoples who are in your power, and thus, under God's just laws, the recompense to you of a larger freedom for yourselves, or, tyranny and destruction for your struggling but helpless victims, whose wrongs the Great Ruler of all will in due time avenge by the mournful destruction of your own liberties. Shall it be generosity, or colonial greed ? Shall it be right, or wrong ? Give ear to your own conscience, and we are sure you will incline yourselves toward mercy, toward justice, and toward the only honorable course that will restore peace to our ransacked homes and to our devastated fields, stopping at once and forever this horrible war which has

tros saqueados hogares y á nuestros devastados campos, cesando de una vez y para siempre esta guerra horrible que tanto oro y sangre viene costando y que aún más, mucho más, ha de costar porque nuestra resolución es irrevocable : la libertad ó la muerte, la independencia ó el exterminio.

Y para que quieren subyugarnos los imperialistas ? Que se propone hacer de nosotros ? Quieren que nos rindamos, que cedamos nuestros inalienables derechos, nuestros hogares, nuestra propiedad, nuestras vidas, nuestro destino futuro, á la entera disposición de los EE. UU. ? Que harán de los nueve millones de habitantes que pueblan nuestro Archipiélago ? Nos permitireis tomar parte en vuestras elecciones ? Consentireis que nos erijamos en uno ó más Estados federales ? Nos concedereis el derecho de enviar senadores y representantes á vuestro Congreso ? Nos tasareis los impuestos sin oír á nuestros procuradores ? Cambiareis vuestras tarifas aduaneras, á fin de dar libre entrada en los EE. UU. á nuestros productos en condiciones de competencia con los de vuestro suelo ? Permitireis que los "trusts" se utilicen de nuestra barata labor para producir con ventaja sobre vuestra propia producción ? Dejareis que dichos trusts se sirvan de nuestro pueblo, explotándolo á su antojo, en tanto que vosotros gozais de

already cost so much in treasure and blood, and which, if not abandoned, will yet cost much more, because our resolution is fixed : Liberty or death ; independence or annihilation.

Why do the Imperialists wish to subjugate us ? What do they intend to do with us ? Do they expect us to surrender,—to yield our inalienable rights, our homes, our properties, our lives, our future destinies, to the absolute control of the United States ? What would you do with our nine millions of people ? Would you permit us to take part in your elections ? Would you concede to us the privilege of sending Senators and Representatives to your Congress ? Would you allow us to erect one or more federal states ? Or, would you tax us without representation ? Would you change your tariff laws so as to admit our products free of duty and in competition with the products of your own soil ? And thus would you allow the American trusts to utilize our cheap labor in the manufacture of goods that would compete with the products of your own factories ? Would you permit the trusts to bottle up our people to subserve their own ends, depriving us even of those liberties which you are enjoying ? Would you admit our artisans, mechanics, laborers, and servants to take employment in your country on an equal footing with

las bendiciones de la Libertad? Permitireis que nuestros artesanos, mecánicos, labradores y sirvientes trabajen en vuestro país bajo un pie de igualdad con los ciudadanos americanos, indios y negros? Nos negareis el derecho, que vosotros ejercitais, de rechazar á los inmigrantes chinos? Nos dejareis conservar nuestro idioma sin forzarnos á adoptar el vuestro? Nos cedereis la libre eleccion de nuestros funcionarios locales? Nos dejareis gozar de vuestros oficios, honores y privilegios? Permitireis que las tabernas, antes casi desconocidas en Filipinas, se multipliquen en la escandalosa proporcion que allí está produciéndose, mientras aqui restringís su aumento? Consentireis que las tierras en Filipinas, solo porque en ellas tienen gran y dudosa propiedad poderosísimas corporaciones, sigan sin pagar contribucion alguna? Retirareis de nuestro país vuestros soldados anglo-americanos, concediéndonos la creacion de milicias propias? Mantendreis allí, á vuestras exclusivas expensas, ya que los ingresos de un país pobre como el nuestro jamás podran costearlos, una flota para defender de extrangeras ambiciones la nueva propiedad que habeis adquirido y un poderoso ejército para ampararla de nuestras naturales y eternas ansias de libertad? Los que tan ardorosamente protestais de que Inglaterra extinga dos pequeñas

American citizens, Indians and Negroes? Would you allow us to prohibit Chinese immigration? Would you permit us to retain our own language and not force us to adopt yours? Would you let us elect our own local officers? Would you allow us to share your offices, your honors and your privileges? And, as for the saloons (which were almost unknown in Manila before) would you allow them to go on multiplying at the appalling rate at which their number has increased there within the past two years? Would you allow the lands in the Filipines to remain at all untaxed, as formerly, simply because some religious corporations have acquired enormous and fraudulent properties in them? Would you remove your American soldiery and permit us to create an army of our own? Or, if you were determined to maintain a powerful army and fleet in order to protect your newly acquired "property" from foreign ambitions, and from our natural and perpetual anxieties for liberty, would you do this solely at your own expense, because the revenues of a poor country like ours could not do so? You who so ardently protest against the destruction by England of two small republics which challenged her to war, would you continue to remain indifferent whilst your rulers are engaged in annihilating a weaker

repúblicas que á guerrear la retaron, permanecereis indiferentes mientras vuestros gobernantes aniquilan otra república, más debil, mucho más desvalida que aquellas, y que, lejos de declararos la guerra, fué vuestra amiga servicial, vuestra eficaz aliada? Que hareis de Filipinas y de los filipinos, si aquello no ha de ser un nuevo estado de America, ni nosotros hemos de gozar de vuestra misma ciudadanía?

El Imperialismo ni sabe ni puede contestar á estas preguntas ni á otras semejantes que pudiéramos dirigirle. Tan solo codicias del momento, afan de explotacion, sed miserable de oro, le inspiran, pero en sus desorientadas imaginaciones no logra darse verdadera cuenta de cual es su plan, cuales sus propósitos para lo porvenir ni hasta donde le autorizareis á desarrollar sus insaciables apetitos. Porque el dilema es inexorable: ó la retencion de Filipinas causará inmenso quebranto á vuestras industrias y á vuestro comercio, si con miras nobles se realiza, ó se reducirá á una despiadada y vergonzosa explotacion colonial que borrará cuanto de loable y alto hay en vuestra historia; y, sera posible que vosotros, ciudadanos de la libre América, consintais que seamos convertidos en siervos ó esclavos? Si esto sucediera, habria que convenir en que vuestras sabias y nobles doctrinas,—al establecer que todos los hombres son

republic which is much more helpless than those of South Africa, and which, far from declaring war against you, was your obliging friend, your successful ally? What would you do with the Filipines and with the Filipinos if you refused to allow them to become a new American state, if you refused to allow them to enjoy your citizenship?

Imperialism knows how to answer these questions. It is inspired only by greed, by a vile thirst for gold and by the lust of spoliation. But, ever misled by its ruthless impulses, it cannot determine which would be its better plan, which should be its settled purpose for the future, or how far it may safely indulge its insatiable appetites. For the dilemma is inexorable: either the retention of the Philippine Islands, if it is realized with a noble purpose, will result in great harm to your industries and your commerce, or, it will become a system of merciless and shameful colonial spoliation which will forever blot out the honor of whatever there is that is lofty and noble in your history. Can it be possible, sons of America, that you will allow us to become subjects or slaves? Should this happen, how will you reconcile it with the wise and noble principles set forth in your Declaration of Independence: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;

iguales, que fueron dotados por el Creador de idénticos inalienables derechos, entre los cuales figuran en primera línea al de ser libres y el de la libre prosecucion de la felicidad, y que solo para garantir estos derechos existen los gobiernos, cuyos poderes se derivan del consentimiento de los gobernados—que tan hermosas y honradas declaraciones, son especiosos engaños, fraudulentas promesas. No podeis, no, sentar un tan rotundo mentís á toda vuestra historia : no podeis consentir la trasgresion palmaria que el Imperialismo se propone hacer de vuestros más fundamentales principios. Mientras el Congreso se resuelve á corregir las ilegales agresiones de que venimos siendo víctimas, con violacion de todo derecho, de solemnnes promesas y deberes de elemental gratitud, confiamos en el alto sentido de justicia que siempre caracterizó, para honra vuestra, la libre conciencia del libre americano. No podeis, no, consentir nuestra esclavizacion que seria vuestra eterna deshonra.

Influid, pues, cuanto antes sobre vuestros legisladores y gobernantes para que nos concedan el gobierno propio que se nos debe, y la paz se hará en el acto, con beneficio vuestro y nuestro, cesando con ella el interminable y esteril derramamiento de sangre que la actual guerra significa.

that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.” Will you transform these beautiful and honorable sentiments into specious deceits, fraudulent promises, and high-sounding but hollow words? No ! You cannot belie your whole history. You cannot tolerate the violation which Imperialism is so evidently working against your most venerable and fundamental principles. Until Congress succeeds in redressing the illegal aggressions of which we are the victims, and shall suppress these violations of reason, of solemn contracts and of the elementary conceptions of gratitude, we shall rely upon and appeal to the high sense of justice which has hitherto so honorably characterized the free American conscience. We do not believe you will allow us to be enslaved ; it would be a dishonor to yourselves.

Influence, then, as soon as possible your legislators and rulers to give us self-government, which by right belongs to us, and peace will be restored immediately, to your benefit and ours, ending the now incessant and fruitless bloodshed entailed upon us by the present war.

We are ready to make peace, and,

Estamos dispuestos á la paz y para facilitarla proponemos :

in order to facilitate this end, we propose :

1.º Que indemnizaremos á los EE. UU., abonándoselos, de los veinte millones de dollars que fueron pagados á España ;

First : That we will pay back to the United State, the twenty million dollars paid by them to Spain.

2.º Que las relaciones comerciales más amistosas é inquebrantables nos unirán siempre, para mútuo beneficio y mayor adelanto de nuestro país ;

Second : That the most amicable and perpetual commercial relations shall exist between us for our mutual benefit and for the greater progress of our country.

3.º Que los EE. UU. tendrán en nuestras costas los sitios razonablemente necesarios para estaciones de carbon, fuera de las ciudades establecidas ;

Third : That we will grant to the United States whatever space is reasonably necessary for coal-ing stations outside of our established cities.

4.º Que no permitiremos en las Islas monopolios de ningun género, y que daremos á vuestros ciudadanos todas las condiciones y garantías apetecibles de seguridad personal y respeto á sus propiedades de qué gocen nuestros compatriotas ;

Fourth : That we will not allow monopolies of any kind in the Islands, and that we will give to your citizens all the guarantees and protection accorded to our own citizens for the security of life and property.

5.º Que nos hallamos dispuestos á acceder á cuanto deseéis en vuestra pró, siempre que sea justo y no constituya un aten-

Fifth : That we are ready to entertain whatever terms you may desire for yourselves, so long as they do not infringe upon our individual and political

tado á nuestra libertad individual y social ó á la integridad de nuestro territorio nacional.

Despues de estos ofrecimientos resta solo que vosotros, libres ciudadanos de la libre America, en glorificacion de vuestro nombre y para honra de vuestro pabellon, hagais justicia ; y asi no más se mancharán de sangre inocente las manos de vuestros nobles hijos, y asi no más podrá decirse que han reemplazado, en vuestras almas, las bajas inspiraciones de la codicia á los eminentes sentimientos de libertad y filantropia que heredasteis de vuestros antecesores.

Toronto, Junio, 1900.

Por el Comité Central Filipino :

G. APACIBLE.

liberties, or upon the integrity of our nationality.

After these offers, it only remains that you, the free citizens of America, for the glory of your name throughout the world and for the honor of your flag, shall do justice. Thus shall the hands of your noble sons be no longer stained with innocent blood. Thus shall it not be said that the vile inspirations of greed have banished from your hearts those lofty traditions of liberty and philanthropy which you have inherited from your honest forefathers.

Toronto, June, 1900.

For the Central Filipino Committee,

G. APACIBLE.

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